

THE POLISH REVIEW

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POLISH TREATMENT PROTESTED*

Yalta Decision Held Unfair to Nation by Group of Journalists

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

As American journalists and writers for years concerned with foreign affairs we appeal to you to give space to our protest against the Yalta decision as to Poland. We are convinced that never was a moral issue more clearly presented to the American people than is involved in the abandonment of Poland by its American and British allies. This is one of those issues which will never be settled until they are settled aright. This the history of Europe proves and will prove again. Agitation to right this wrong will no more be extinguished in the years to come than was Poland's demand for real freedom and its rightful boundaries during all the long years when it was subdivided and occupied by Russia, Germany and Austria.

We have not the slightest desire to stir up ill feeling against any country, much less an ally, but while unity and cooperation are desirable with the Soviet Union as with all the United Nations, unity must be for just purposes and in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Upon no other basis can unity survive.

APPEAL TO CONFERENCE

We appeal to the San Francisco Conference to make good this tragic blunder, and remind its members that when in 1939 the Russians joined hands with Hitler's ruthless invaders and took almost half of Poland for itself the British Government at once declared that:

"This attack * * * cannot in the view of His Majesty's Government be justified by the arguments put forth by the Soviet Government. For the unhappy victim of this cynical attack the result has been a tragedy of the grimmest character. * * * If Britain and France have been unable to avert the defeat of the armies of Poland, they have assured her that they have not forgotten their obligations to her."

Now these obligations are forgotten and the consciences of Great Britain and the United States are asked to approve the perpetuation of the grave wrong that England and France denounced in 1939.

It is not surprising that it is being asked in England whether the above quoted declaration meant that the English "would drive the Germans out of Poland only to create a vacuum for the Soviet to fill." Or that Viscount Halifax should be reminded of what he said on Dec. 5, 1939:

"We have tried to improve our relations with Russia, but in doing so we had always maintained the position that rights of third parties must remain intact and be unaffected by our negotiations. * * * I have little doubt that the people of this country would prefer to face difficulties and embarrassments rather than feel that we had compromised the honor of this country and the Commonwealth."

REPORTS OF TERROR

Despite all the attempts made since the publication of the Crimea appeasement to soothe the American public by saying that "one must face facts and be realistic"; that "we cannot go to war with Russia over Poland"; that Poland will gain by getting East Prussia and Pomerania as far as the Oder, the situation has not been ameliorated or stabilized. The great change that has come is that, as has been officially ad-

mitted in the British Parliament, the Russians are already terrorizing Poland, banning and imprisoning Poles.

This brings the situation straight home to the Administration and every American. For in yielding to the Russian demands Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill certainly made themselves morally responsible, not only for the way in which Russia carried out the readjustment of the map which they authorized, but also for the Sovietization by the Red Army and the Russian secret police of the rest of Poland.

Upon no such foundation of international wrongdoing, upon no such deliberate violation of the Atlantic Charter, can any lasting world organization be built. Even to propose it is to do violence to our finest American traditions of fair play and justice for all peoples. To abandon an ally to whom we solemnly promised to restore all his rights, privileges and liberties taken from him by a brutal, bloody and wicked enemy is something surely without precedent in American history.

Of course no sane man advocates any course which would bring us into armed conflict with Russia. Perish the thought! But self-respect and the debt we owe to our men who have died in Europe for a really free world in which Poland also might be free make it impossible for our Government or any other authority to still the imperishable demand that complete justice be done to Poland, and that this new "tragedy of the grimmest character" should cease. No more than England in 1939 have we the right to compromise the honor of this country.

George Sokolsky, William Henry Chamberlin, John Nevil Sayre, Varian Fry, Eugene Lyons, William E. Bohn, Liston M. Oak, Max Eastman, Isaac Don Levine, Bertram D. Wolfe, George S. Schuyler, Oswald Garrison Villard.

New York, April 18, 1945

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Front Cover: Fragment of Jan Matejko's famous canvas
Rejtan at the Warsaw Diet, painted in 1886, which depicts
the moment when Tadeusz Rejtan, deputy from Livonia,
appeals to the Polish Diet assembled in April 1773 not to
ratify the infamous partition treaty of 1772 as a result of
which Poland lost territory to Russia, Prussia and Austria.

* Letter to the *New York Times*, published April 19, 1945.

Third of May Constitution as Seen by Contemporary Americans

FOLLOWING the first partition of Poland in 1772, as a result of which that country lost about a third of her territory to Russia, Austria and Prussia, the Polish nation made a determined effort to reform its political and economic system and strengthen its internal organization so that no outside power would again presume to violate Polish independence. Culture and the arts flourished under the patronage of Poland's Maecenas King, Stanislaw August Poniatowski, the first Ministry of Education in Europe was established, the condition of the towns improved and national revenue increased. The teachings of the French reformers fell on fertile soil in Poland and news of the French Revolution was received with joy by the intellectuals.

In 1788 the Great Diet of Poland came together in a session that was to last four years. Carrying its message of constitutional reform to the people, the Diet doubled the number of its deputies by new elections and became a genuine national assembly.

The Four Year Diet's crowning achievement was its bloodless revolution of May 3, 1791, by which it voted Poland's amazing liberal constitution and transformed the country into a constitutional monarchy. Indeed, the social reforms embodied in this constitution were so much ahead of the times that Russia and Prussia, who feared democracy and progress more than they feared each other, once again united in 1792 to take from the Polish Republic half of its remaining territory and people.

The third partition of Poland in 1795 following the failure of the Kosciuszko Insurrection in 1794, sealed Poland's fate for a century and a quarter. To the Poles, however, the Constitution of the Third of May remained a living document throughout the entire period of the partitions. One of independent Poland's first acts in 1918 was to declare the Third of May a national holiday.

Although Poland was prevented from reaping the benefits of her new constitution, Americans were quick to recognize its epoch-making significance. Contemporary American newspapers gave their readers a colorful account of the actual adoption of the Constitution and many quoted extensively from its text.

Here is the summary of the Constitution of the Third of May printed in July and August 1791 by three leading American newspapers—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, *The New York Daily Advertiser*, and the *Gazette of the United States*—to lay before their reading public "the whole of the proceedings . . . in one connected view":

"At three o'clock in the morning of May 3rd, a number of Patriots, who had pre-concerted the great objects which they meant to accomplish in the sitting of the Diet that day, assembled in the King's Chamber. There, in the presence of the King, they engaged to effectuate the Revolution that day, and they pledged themselves to each other, by a solemn engagement, not to separate until they had accomplished their end.

"The assembly was opened at the usual hour. The galleries were crowded with spectators, and the House was surrounded with thousands who could not gain admission. Instead of the Marshals, the King himself opened the session. He said in substance, that "notwithstanding all assurances to the contrary, there was an alarming rumor, confirmed by advices daily received, that the three neighboring powers would make up and termi-



National Museum Collection in Warsaw

Contemporary cartoon by Noel Lemire representing Russia, Prussia and Austria dividing Poland in the first partition of 1772. The despairing King of Poland tears the crown from his head.

nate all their jealousies and divisions, at the expense of the possessions of the Republic; that the only method of assuring to Poland the integrity of its possessions, and of preserving it from the ruin which foreign politics were preparing for it,

was to establish a Constitution, founded principally on those of England, and the United States of America; but avoiding the faults and errors of both, and adapting it as much as possible to the local and particular circumstances of the country."

"In support of the information relative to the foreign powers, the King communicated to the Diet some dispatches received from the Ministers of the Republic at foreign courts, stating how eager they were to oppose all settlement of the Constitution, and that every thing seemed to announce their hostile designs on Poland. The King desired that the plan which he submitted to them, might be read, and that they should proceed forthwith to enact it into a law, if they approved of it. The plan was accordingly read, and a very long and important debate took place.

"All the representatives of the Provinces of Volhynia and Podolia, declared (Please turn to page 4)



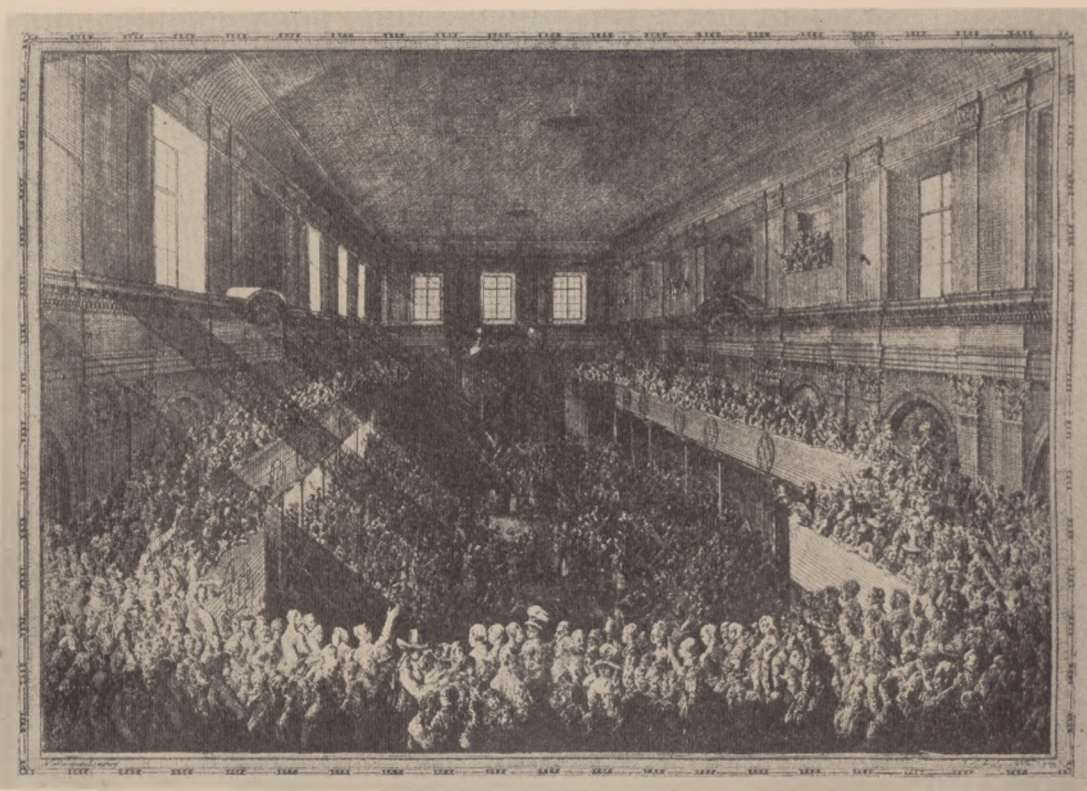
Temporary Arch erected in Warsaw in 1789 in honor of Stanislaw Malachowski, Speaker of the 4-year Polish Diet that enacted the Polish Constitution of 1791.

THIRD OF MAY CONSTITUTION AS SEEN BY CONTEMPORARY AMERICANS

(Continued from page 3)
themselves against the new form of constitution.

"M. Suchorzewski, who so recently distinguished himself in so brilliant a manner as an advocate for the people, and who is justly regarded as the principal author of the movements that have brought about the Revolution, opposed this plan with great zeal. The patriotism by which he was animated, was alarmed by the Crown being made hereditary. He advanced, and threw himself on his knees at the foot of the throne supplicating and conjuring his Majesty, 'to renounce his ideas of the hereditary succession to the Royalty, as it would be the tomb of the Liberty of Poland.' Many representatives, who were on the same side, alleged the instructions of their Provinces prevented them from agreeing to make the Throne hereditary. They insisted that at least the plan should be taken *ad deliberandum*, as every other new law was taken; but a great majority of voices refused to agree to this. 'We must pass the whole this day; we will not depart from this place until the whole is accomplished.'

"The opposition replied, 'And we will not depart until it is renounced.' The majority requested the King to be pleased to unite them for the acceptance and support of the new constitution, in a solemn oath. The King called to him the Bishop of Cracovia, and took the oath from his hands. They cried out: 'All those who desire the welfare of their country will join the King, assist, and support him.' They surrounded the Throne on all sides. The King to be seen by the Assembly, could not remain seated; he mounted on the seat and swore aloud.—A great majority of the Diet held up their right hands, followed his example, and swore the same. 'Every man that loves his country,' exclaimed his Majesty, 'follow me to the Church, and thanking God, let us repeat the oath at the Altar.' All the Bishops, all secular senators, with a great number of the Nuncios or representatives accompanied the King to church, and there again they solemnly engaged before the Supreme Being and their country, to maintain a constitution, which combining liberty with subordination, and subjecting the first citizen as well as the last to the law, secures to all the means of happiness, and gives to each citizen the true enjoyment of his rights. It was by that time seven o'clock in the evening; *Te Deum* was sung, and the new constitution was announced to the people by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon. There were but between thirty or forty Nuncios who did not follow the King to the church. The King



Proclamation of the Constitution of May 3 by J. P. Norblin

USTAWA RZĄDOWA.

PRAWO UCHWALONE.

Dnia 3 Maja, Roku 1791.



W WARSZAWIE,
w Drukarni Lipskiej u Wł. Górskiego
Księgarza Nadszerego J. R. Ma.

Title page of the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791.
" . . . We have resolved, with the greatest constancy of spirit and despite the obstacles that our passions may engender, upon the present Constitution for the general good and to insure the freedom of our Motherland and to defend her and her frontiers . . . "

with his suite, returned to the Assembly house, and adjourned the Diet to the 4-th of May, after charging the Marshals to give the oath to all Departments. The opposing Nuncios, seeing that all resistance was useless, resolved to protest against the new constitution by the publication of a manifesto, after which they retired without noise to their own house. There was no attempt made to interrupt them nor was any insult whatsoever offered to their persons. Cries of joy filled the streets, but this joy was the expression of a pure, and calm patriotism. Through the whole day there was not the smallest confusion, nor disorder, nor riot. At eleven o'clock the streets were so perfectly calm, that one would hardly believe that it had been the epoch of a new order of things.

"In the sitting of the 5-th of May, the new form of government was again proposed.—The members present signed it unanimously, and they formally passed, sentence by sentence, the twelve articles of which it is composed, and which are as follows:

"1. The Catholic Religion shall be the governing religion of the states, and the King shall profess it. But all other forms of worship shall be admitted, and a general toleration, civil and religious, shall be a fundamental law of the Kingdom.

"2. The ancient privileges and rights of the Noblesse are approved and confirmed.

"3. At the same time all the rights and privileges of the people asserted, renewed or granted to them during the present Diet, are equally ratified and confirmed.

"4. All strangers who arrive and settle in Poland shall enjoy full and entire liberty.

"5. The peasantry are taken under the

protection of laws and of government. They are relieved from all arbitrary impositions, and do depend, henceforth, in what regards their rights and labours, only on the contracts which they shall make with their seigniors. All foreign labourers are free to enter and settle in Poland, or to depart, fulfilling only the obligations of the contracts they may have made with the proprietors of the soil.

"6. The government of Poland shall be composed of three branches, or distinct parts,—the legislative power, the executive power, and the judicial power.

"7. The legislative power belongs exclusively to the states assembled in Diet, and composed of two connected chambers, to wit, the senate and the chamber of nuncios.

"8. The king shall exercise the executive power with his council. This council shall be composed of the primate and five ministers who shall each have a department. No order of the king can be put in execution unless it is signed by the ministers, whose lives and fortunes shall be responsible to each Diet for the orders they shall sign. As soon as two-thirds of the Diet shall demand the change of ministers, the king shall be bound to dismiss them, and to name others in their place.

"9. The election of the king shall never fall hereafter on an individual. A whole family shall be elected when the royal family shall be extinct. Thus after the decease of the reigning king (for whose long life the Estates and the nation make the most fervent prayer) the reigning elector of Saxony, and his male descendants after him shall succeed to the throne of Poland. If he shall have no male issue, Mary Augusta Nepomucene, his only daughter now declared infanta of Poland, shall be queen, and her husband, whom the king and the States assembled shall choose for her, shall wear the crown and form the stock, from which shall spring a new royal dynasty of Poland.

"10. In case of the minority of the king, his tutelage with the administration of the government shall be in the hands of the queen's mother, and of the council, who shall be responsible for their conduct to every Diet.

"11. The education of the king's children shall be in like manner confided to the council.

"12. The judicial power shall be fixed for each palatinate, territory and district. The judges shall be elected at the Dietines."

On October 29, 1791 the *Gazette of the United States* reprinted at length the paragraphs on Poland contained in Edmund Burke's famous "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," in which the famous Irish orator, statesman and writer, condemned the excesses of the French Revolution and wholeheartedly praised the Polish reforms:

"THE STATE OF POLAND was undoubtedly such, that there could scarcely exist two opinions, but that a reformation of its constitution, even at some expence of blood, might be seen without much disapprobation . . . But in what manner was this chaos



Medal with a profile of Stanislaw August, King of Poland, struck in commemoration of the proclamation of the Third of May Constitution.



brought into order? The means were as striking to the imagination, as satisfactory to reason, and soothing to the moral sentiment. In contemplating the change, humanity has every thing to rejoice and to glory in; nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. So far as it has gone, it probably is the most pure and defecated public good which ever has been conferred on mankind. We have seen anarchy and servitude at once removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people, without trenching on their liberties; all foreign cabal banished, by changing the crown from elective to hereditary; and what was a matter of pleasing wonder, we have seen a reigning King, from an heroic love to his country, exerting himself with all the toil, the dexterity, the management, and intrigue, in favor of a family of strangers, with which ambitious men labour for the aggrandizement of their own. Ten millions of men in a way of being freed gradually, and therefore safely to themselves and the state, not from civil or political chains, which, bad as they are, only fetter the mind, but from substantial personal bondage. Inhabitants of cities, before without privileges, placed in the consideration which belong to that improved

and connected situation of social life. One of the most proud, numerous and fierce bodies of nobility and gentry ever known in the world, arranged only in the foremost rank of free and generous citizens. Nor one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation. All, from the King to the day-labourer, were improved in their condition. Every thing was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order every thing was bettered. To add to this happy wonder (this unheard of conjunction of wisdom and fortune) not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery; no outrage; no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoil; no confiscation; no citizen beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled; the whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity and secrecy, such as have never been before known on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favor of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people, if

(Please turn to page 15)



King Stanislaw August in a triumphal procession, Warsaw, May 3, 1791. Oil painting by K. Wojniakowski.

Small Nations and the International Organization[†]

by WLADYSLAW S. TALMONT



IN EVERY society the big and powerful must renounce some of their opportunities by strength and power to enable the lesser in power and resourcefulness to become more useful to society as an entirety. This is a rule which applies to a society of people as well as to a society of nations. If it is their sincere desire that peace and security be maintained in this world, the great powers must renounce some of the opportunities given them by their strength in behalf of the smaller nations and society as a whole. It is of course imperative that such a principle remain unchanged if the setup agreed upon is to be maintained. All orders of the various institutions of the international organization should be obeyed even in cases where the direct or indirect interests of a power, or powers, may be somewhat impaired, if such be the interest of society. Under today's conditions every nation belongs to that one great society which the late Wendell Wilkie termed "One World."

It is further notable that there are very few examples of wars waged by small nations acting on their own. There always has been a powerful and strong protector or instigator in the background. In the world of today only big interests and ambitions can move a country into war. Since none of the small nations will have any such reasons for starting a war, they will never do so unless instigated by big powers, or attacked. It is also quite apparent that for these very same reasons, both the interests and conscience of the small nations will be more aware of the danger of war, and, consequently, they will be more inclined to abide by the law than any of the bigger nations.

It is not the intention of the writer to advance a theory that it would be of great advantage to the society of the world were it to be governed by the smaller nations. Even though such theories exist. In his recently published book, "Freedom and Civilization," the noted anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski, takes the stand that "Instead of the doctrine of a master race and master nation, we postulate complete independence to be given to all races or nations and all cultural minorities. A cultural united, integrated group is not and cannot ever be a menace to any of its neighbors, provided that it is deprived of military force." (Page 336).

Besides this, there is also a note from the author which perfectly expresses his trend of thought: "The principle of priority is in inverse ratio to the aggregate population, wealth, production, and vested interests of each country. This plan of anti-population representation, giving the weakest nation as much or more control than the strongest, seems to me to be the soundest guarantee for future peace." (Page 334).

A most interesting point of view was expressed by The Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eelco N. Van Kleffens*: "There is presently a strong—fortunately not a general—tendency in Britain and the United States, to vindicate the dominant position . . . to the largest political units of the world."

"... The views of the lesser states are by no means ignored but, according to speakers and writers of that school, should carry less weight, the decisive criterion appearing to be size and power . . ."

"... Might and influence in national and international affairs are one thing. Opinions and views are another . . ."

"The great powers, according to the "big four" theory, seem desirous of ruling benignly the community of nations.

The lesser powers—whose very lives depend on wise international cooperation—wish to serve the common good, and I venture to suggest this is a more valuable—because more unselfish, approach to claiming a vote at the council table."

The opinion expressed by the Universities Committee on Postwar International Problems (International Conciliation, June, 1944, No. 401, page 480), runs along the same lines and reads as follows:

"3. Danger of control by a small group of powers.

"It is recognized that the "big three (or four)" of the United Nations will have great power and prestige at the conclusion of the present war, and that, if an international organization is formed, they will be, originally, and probably for some time to come, the dominant influences in it. There is real danger that they will use their power largely in their own interest with a corresponding disregard of the rights or claims of the smaller powers. This tendency will be counteracted to some extent by the declared humanitarian aims of the people and leaders of the great powers and by the natural rivalry of their mutual interests. Further, the influence of the great powers can be decreased by including all the smaller powers in the international organization, and by requiring a majority vote of all members on important matters of policy. *The small powers are by nature peace-loving and opposed to aggrandizement through aggression, and will serve as an admirable check on the few great powers.* Finally, it is remarked that danger to the world from undue dominance by the great powers would be much less within the framework of an international organization than it would be without such a collective authority."

Bearing in mind the opinions given above, the conclusion reached is that for protection of peace it is of eminent importance that the smaller nations be permitted more rights and influence in the international organization.

This can be achieved by various means, such as: an increase in the number of seats in the Security Council in order to obtain a broader cross-section of representations of interests and votes, a system of Security Council voting which should be truly democratic and based on a majority of votes, or an increase in the authority of the international court of justice and a broadening of its jurisdiction.**

This would be a just, proper and really democratic solution. The "big powers" would hold the keys to peace and security. Because of their size and resourcefulness they alone will have the power to start or stop a war. They will possess all the powers derived from their size and resourcefulness in the fields of economy, commerce, industry and science, as well as the means of bringing public opinion to their side

** In discussing the parts to be played by the "Big Powers" in an international organization, it might be not entirely unreasonable to give thought to the suggestion that reconsideration be given to the present organization of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In order to somewhat counter-balance the unlimited powers given the executive body of the international organization, it might be well to consider whether it be advisable to diminish the influence of the "Big Powers" in the judicial body of the organization. This could be achieved by a regulation providing that judges be chosen solely from countries holding no permanent place in the Security Council. Reservation should be made for the seating of judges of these nationalities at cases concerning their respective countries.

Such a system would leave jurisdiction in the hands of judges who, being not only independent, but also belonging to those countries that certainly nourish no great ambitions or desire for war, would, as above indicated, be wholeheartedly interested in the maintenance of a true and just peace.

This suggestion does not represent the writer's views regarding a practicable solution, nor are they intended as a criticism of the present statute of the Permanent Court, but merely express a thought which at some future date may become reality.

(Please turn to page 15)

[†] From: *JUSTICE IN EXILE*, notes on Dumbarton Oaks proposals by Wladyslaw S. Talmont. Published by University Press, 655 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y., 1945. 47 pp. \$1.

*The Times, London, March 25, 1943.

POLAND'S CARDINAL HLOND

by GEORGE W. TEPA

On April 8, 1945, the personal plane of General William Simpson, Commander of the American Ninth Army, taxied to a stop at Le Bourget airport. Out of it stepped the highest dignitary of the Catholic Church in Poland—Cardinal August Hlond, who had been held a hostage by the Germans in a convent of German Catholic nuns at Widenbock, near Paderborn. Cardinal Hlond was freed by the Ninth Army on Easter Sunday after 14 months of imprisonment and arrangements were made for his immediate transfer to France. Greeted at the airport by a galaxy of officials and journalists, the sixty-four year old Cardinal declined to discuss his experiences in Germany and indicated that the common fight against the enemy is of greater importance than what has happened to one individual.

In connection with the liberation of Cardinal Hlond, we reprint excerpts from an article which appeared in The Catholic World for February 1945:

CARDINAL HLOND is one of the most unusual figures of modern times. He is a dignitary of the Catholic Church, a statesman and scholar, a polyglot, a musician and poet. He was a candidate for the papacy at the conclave in 1937, and in the course of a short time has become a legendary symbol of martyrdom in occupied Europe.

August Hlond was born on July 5, 1881, in the little Silesian village of Przechowice, one of eight sons of a railway laborer. At an early age he was forced to go to work but at the same time continued his education, attending the Salesian School in near-by Oswiecim. In 1905 when he was ordained to the priesthood in Cracow he was already a member of the Salesian Brotherhood.

He traveled all over Europe and gathered experience which was to be helpful to him in his later responsible positions. He mastered ten European languages. He spoke them without accent and wrote fluently in each. His talents are wide in scope. He has written a work on Dante in the Italian language which won him a place in the world of learning and at the same time he is an eminent Polish Chopinist.

In 1922 in spite of the resistance of the German clergy who called him a "Polish chauvinist," he became Apostolic Administrator for Polish Silesia. In 1925 he was appointed Bishop of Katowice and in 1926 Archbishop of the Gniezno-Poznan district and Primate of Poland. He occupied that position for 13 years, during which time he directed Church affairs in Poland and acted as chairman of the Institution of the Conference of Bishops of all Rites. He founded a network of organizations, the "Catholic Action," which in prewar Poland was distinguished for its cultural and educational activities, particularly in the field of publication. At the same time he did not neglect his writing or his scholarly activities, both imbued with a spirit of democracy.

The tragic days of September, 1939, arrived and with them the German invasion. At the personal wish of the President of Poland, Primate Hlond accompanied the Polish Government as it moved south. Primate Hlond proceeded to Rome as a guest of Pope Pius XII, where he was appointed director of the Vatican Curate of the Eastern Church.

All attempts to return to Poland, where he wished to share the tragic fate of his priests and brothers in the Orders, ended in failure. The late Cardinal Maglione, Papal Secretary of State, twice intervened with the German Ambassador to permit the Primate to travel to occupied Poland and twice was categorically refused. But Cardinal Hlond determined to continue his struggle against Nazism and organized its second phase while still in Rome.

He made radio addresses over the Vatican radio and arranged regular broadcasts to Poland. He prepared detailed reports for the Pope concerning the persecution of the Cath-



Cardinal August Karol Hlond, Primate of Poland.

olic Church in occupied Poland. His reports, based on the stories of eye-witnesses and documents regularly smuggled out of Poland by Polish underground couriers in the year 1939-1940 awakened world interest and aroused the conscience of those who still retained illusions as to the "humanitarianism" of the occupying authorities.

At the beginning of June, 1940, the Italians prepared to declare war on the Allies, and their armies were concentrated along the French border. Hlond, foreseeing increasing difficulties in connection with his work at the Vatican, and fearing the restrictions of a growing Italian censorship left for France by the last train and arrived in Lourdes where he was to reside as a guest of the Lourdes bishop at the Chalet Episcopale. Invitations were showered on him from all over the world. He sent his regrets to London and thanked the Spanish bishop, his former fellow-student in Rome, for his invitation. The Cardinal wished to remain as near as possible to his unhappy country with which he maintained regular contact through underground channels.

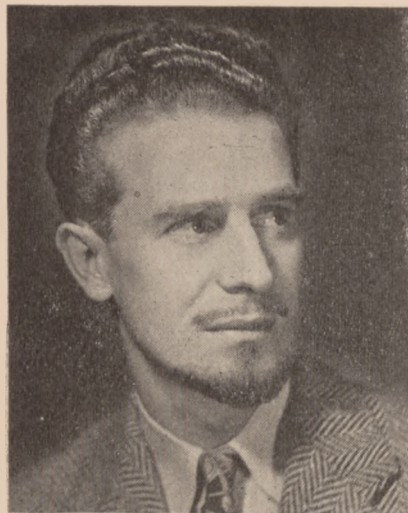
Hlond got together a group of Polish clergy, organized his "Moral Defense" and published the now famous "Letter to Polish Youth," an appeal which led youthful Polish soldiers to their attack on Monte Cassino and encouraged the defenders of an isolated Warsaw to battle.

In the first weeks of February, 1944, Cardinal Hlond, together with his secretary, Father Filipiak, was arrested by the Gestapo.

Recent Paintings by Polish-American Pulitzer Prize Winner

by WALTER C BOW

Paul J. 89



Sigmund Kozlow

SIGMUND KOZLOW, seventeen of whose paintings were recently exhibited at the Contemporary Arts Gallery in New York City, is a young Polish-American artist, who has won many distinctions and honors since he first embarked on his painting career.

Born in New York City in 1913 of Polish parents, who shortened their surname from Kozlowski to Kozlow, he had one all-consuming ambition as a

Foundation, which entitled him to spend the summer with other gifted young artists at the Louis C. Tiffany estate at Oyster Bay, Long Island, and during that time work in any way he wished at his painting.

Following exhibits of single works at the Grand Central Art Galleries, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and the Roerich Museum, Mr. Kozlow was invited to hold a one-man exhibition of sixteen paintings by Contemporary Arts in April 1936. The showing was favorably received by the critics. Howard Devree of the *New York Times* called it "an auspicious debut" and added, "There is some warm and sensitive painting in his impressionist landscapes, and an easy, balanced sense of space." Carlyle Burrows of the *New York Herald Tribune* declared, "Here is a definite lyrical talent in process of development," while Jerome Klein of the *New York Post* stated that "Mr. Kozlow is unquestionably a talented young artist."

These verdicts of the New York art critics were confirmed one month later, when 23-year-old Sigmund Kozlow received the \$1,500 Pulitzer scholarship awarded annually "to an art

been neglected by painters," says Mr. Kozlow. "I planned to set up a studio in Cracow and make a study of the people. The war interrupted my plans, but I recall the market square in Cracow where the colorful peasants came from miles around to sell their wares. The opportunity offered an artist was overwhelming. The colors appealed to me greatly and I found the Cracow setting with its old gates and towers and churches very artistic. All this has been put on canvas by Polish artists but not by Americans." And adds the artist, "As an American with Polish background, I would have liked to show this beauty to the people of our country." He still hopes he can realize this plan.

Returning to the United States in 1937, Mr. Kozlow steadily gained recognition. He participated in such important national exhibitions as the Carnegie Exhibitions, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the Corcoran Bien-



Covered Bridge by Sigmund Kozlow.

Contemporary Arts Gallery

nial and the Brooklyn Museum Biennial Exhibitions. In the summer of 1937 he was invited for the third time to spend a summer at the Tiffany Foundation's estate.

Other invitations were to take part in the Golden Gate Exposition in 1939 and in 1943 to hold a one-man show at the Toledo Museum of Art. The *Toledo Times* critic wrote on the latter occasion: "Mr. Kozlow lives in a pleasant world. His eyes see only agreeable subjects; his fond hand captures them with warm, clean paint. Landscapes are gentle nature studies filled in with light, in which soft tones are blended in even texture to lap up sharp outlines. In like manner, the dingy decay of a back street is brushed under and made remote."

Although Mr. Kozlow is primarily known for his serene landscapes, he is also a portrait painter of skill and was commissioned to paint a number of prominent Toledo residents during his stay there. His medium is oils, pastels and water colors.

Mr. Kozlow's object in (Please turn to page 15)



Country Road by Sigmund Kozlow.

Contemporary Arts Gallery



Winter Afternoon by Sigmund Kozlow.

Contemporary Arts Gallery

student in America, who shall be certified as the most promising and deserving by the National Academy of Design, with which the Society of American Artists has been merged."

Following another month of study at the Tiffany Foundation, Mr. Kozlow left for Europe in the summer of 1936. In addition to the Pulitzer prize money, the artist received a scholarship for a two-month course at the Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts in Paris.

Mr. Kozlow remained in Europe fifteen months. Included in his tour was Poland, country of his parents. Indeed, this marked his second visit to that land. In 1921, his family had gone back to Poland for two years and young Sigmund had attended school at Busk, near Lwow, for two years. In 1936 and 1937 Mr. Kozlow stayed with relatives in the Polish city of Cracow, visited Polish museums and met Polish artists. He was especially captivated by Polish folk art. Its beauty and color charmed him as did the colorful peasant folk themselves.

"I found that Poland and the other Slavic countries have so much color and that these countries have



Girl in Blue by Sigmund Kozlow. Study of the artist's sister.

Contemporary Arts Gallery

THE NINTH LIBERATES POLISH P/W'S IN GERMANY

by HALINA TOMASZEWSKA

IN THEIR present great sweep across Western Germany to Berlin, the United States Ninth Army, under General William H. Simpson recently liberated Polish prisoners, among them 14 generals and 11 colonels, from a German prisoner of war camp in the Reich, located near Bortentreich.

A few days ago these newly freed Polish officers flew to Paris in the airplane of the Commander in Chief of the Allied Expeditionary Force. From Le Bourget Airfield they were taken to the Polish Embassy where they were greeted by Ambassador Morawski, Polish Government representatives and Colonel Anthony Drexel-Biddle, Jr., representing the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force. A guard of honor with the Polish flag, composed of members of the Polish underground organization in France, the POWN, stood in front of the embassy building, and General Tadeusz Piskor greeted them in the name of the newly arrived officers.

None of those present will ever forget the moment when the car from the airport drove up to the building. It was with horror that we looked at these men, grey-skinned and emaciated, clad in the worst kind of ill-assorted rags and torn uniforms and caps, with orders and generals' insignia on their breasts. Some who were wounded walked leaning heavily on canes. Slim Brigadier-General Mikolaj Waraksiewicz wore a sword.

The feelings of those men, as revealed by their expressions, when they saw the Polish flag flying over smartly saluting Polish officers were indeed something that none of us will ever forget. With the exception of Generals Walerian Czuma, Bernard Mond, Tadeusz Piskor and Wiktor Thomme, all had belonged to the Polish GHQ or to military offices evacuated from Poland to Rumania in September, 1939.

The story of how the generals were turned over to the Germans is one of the basest and most needless betrayal. General Teofil Maresz described their experiences as prisoners of war:

"Together with a large part of the Polish Army, we crossed the border into Rumania where, on the basis of existing treaties between Poland and Rumania, we expected to find a new base of operations from which we could strike back at the Germans in our homeland. Instead of this, and contrary to all international law and custom, the Rumanians took away our arms and placed us all in internment camps.

"We were scattered throughout different camps in Rumania. At the end of 1941 all officers were assembled at Calimanesti. It was there that on February 8, 1942, the Rumanians told us that we were to be set free and immediately sent to Poland. That same day about 800 officers were loaded into a train, but at the next station we found out the truth!

"At the railway station of Cronet, German escorts awaited us. The Rumanians gave them our papers and we were on our way to German prison camps. In sealed carriages, we were sent to the transit camp at Kreiserteinbruch in Austria, from where we proceeded to Oflag 6E at Dorsten, near Wessel. At the end of October, 1942, our whole group was



Prisoner of war camp, Stalag VII-A in Germany.

transferred to Oflag 6B at Dossel near Warburg in Westphalia where the Americans later liberated us."

It is thanks only to the quick American drive through the Reich that the prisoners of Oflag 6B were liberated. On the eve of the occupation by the Americans of the town of Dossel, the Germans decided to evacuate the prison camp. That was on Easter Sunday.

At dawn, a long line of 2,000 persons left by the barbed wire gate and marched east. Only the sick and the unfit were left in the camp. One of the Colonels told us of that march.

"Realizing that the Americans were close we frustrated all German attempts to hurry us along. The maximum that we would do in a single day was 15 kilometers (less than 10 miles).

"Some of the Germans realized the hopelessness of the situation. One of the guards said that we could do what we liked, but that they were going to wait for the Americans to catch up with us.

"The Americans arrived early the next day. Scattered in a field, we were involuntary observers of the ensuing battle between the retreating Germans and the advancing Americans.

"Then, two of our officers went out onto the road, carrying a white flag, to meet the American tanks. We were free at last! In Oflag 6B there were 2,500 prisoners in all, including 400 privates and 100 non-commissioned officers, while the rest, 2,000, were officers. Apart from these there were 50 sailors and about the same number of airmen. They had all been through the 1939 campaign.

"Conditions in the camp were extremely bad at first. We prisoners had to rely on the American and Canadian parcels that came once a month—one parcel per prisoner. The most important packages, however, were those from Poland containing fresh food. But, from

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FROM THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN TO CHINA

ON APRIL 5, 1945 at 10:30 p. m., Henry Milo, prominent news analyst and radio commentator, interviewed, over radio station WINS, New York, Colonel Witold Urbanowicz, an ace of the Polish Air Force who has fought both in Europe and the Far East. The interview follows:

Mr. Milo: We have in our studio today the well-known Polish flier, Colonel Witold Urbanowicz, Air Attache to the Polish Embassy in Washington. Colonel Urbanowicz, a fighter pilot holding the rank of Group Captain, is one of the greatest of our Allied flying aces. During the Battle of Britain he commanded the famous Polish fighter squadron 303, personally shooting down 15 German planes. He also fought in China with the 14th American Air Force. During battles over Nanchang in eastern China he shot down two Japanese Zero planes.

It is not surprising then that he has been awarded Poland's highest military distinction, the "Virtuti Militari," besides 4 Crosses of Valor, the English Distinguished Flying Cross and the American Air Medal. He is also the only Polish pilot to receive the American and Chinese "Pilot's Wings."

Could you please tell me, Colonel, how it happened that you decided to enter the American Air Force and to fight over China?

Colonel Urbanowicz: Well, there were many reasons . . . I flew to China for the experience, among other things, since the Chinese terrain is different from the European terrain, more difficult to navigate, because of variations in weather and topography.

But there were other reasons for my decision, reasons of a more serious nature and harder to explain. American pilots are fighting for our common cause in Europe. I therefore felt it my duty to fight on the Japanese front with the Americans. And then there is a tradition to maintain. Polish Squadron 303 which I commanded during the Battle of Britain had been organized during the Polish-Russian war of 1918-1920 by . . . Americans.

I also feel great friendship for the Chinese who for 8 years now have been defending themselves stubbornly and with great sacrifice against Japanese aggression.

Mr. Milo: Would you tell me something about the fighting record of the Polish Air Force in this war?

Colonel Urbanowicz: To make the picture clear, I should like to divide our activity into two very different periods: The period of dramatic defense and the period of effective victory.

In 1939 the ratio of the Polish Air Force to the German was 1 to 10. We had 400 planes and the Germans 4000.

German planes were superior to ours in speed, armor and ceiling.

The German air invasion of Poland in 1939 was met by our Polish fliers alone without Allied help. In the air battles over Poland in 1939, four German planes were shot down for every single Polish plane.

After the occupation of Poland, our fliers escaped to France, where they continued to fight again, shooting down about 100 German planes.

Mr. Milo: And what part did the Polish Air Force play in the Battle of Britain in 1940?

Colonel Urbanowicz: After the fall of France the Polish fliers went to England where they organized Polish bomber and fighter units.

By the side of the R.A.F. Polish pilots shot down in the Battle of Britain 243 German planes, confirmed. Of these Squadron 303 alone shot down 126.

At the same time Polish bomber squadrons attacked French ports where the invasion of the British Isles was being prepared.

After the Battle of Britain, which beyond any doubt was



Colonel Urbanowicz (right) interviewed by Henry Milo before the WINS microphone.

one of the decisive battles of this war, Polish airmen attacked the *Luftwaffe* on airfields in France and Germany. Polish bomber squadrons destroyed German industry, railway junctions and sea ports.

Mr. Milo: Did the Polish Air Force fight only over Great Britain and Europe?

Colonel Urbanowicz: No. During the African campaign, Polish airmen participated with the R.A.F. in military missions and also ferried planes from the African west coast to the front in North Africa.

Mr. Milo: And what part did they play in D Day?

Colonel Urbanowicz: They were attached to the American and English Air Forces just as they had been during the African campaign and in the battle for Sicily. They attacked German army railway transports in France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. They attacked German air fields and tank columns.

Mr. Milo: How about some figures?

Colonel Urbanowicz: From July 1940 to December 31, 1944 Polish fighter units destroyed in the air a total of 718 enemy planes confirmed, 178 probables, 232 damaged and 187 flying bombs. On the ground they destroyed tanks, armored cars, ammunition trains and dumps . . .

Mr. Milo: And the Polish Bomber Command?

Colonel Urbanowicz: Over 10,000 sorties were made. Polish airmen dropped a total of 26,159,847 pounds of bombs.

Mr. Milo: Those are high figures. And now one more question of a personal nature. Of all your experiences as a flier, Colonel, which one do you remember most vividly?

Colonel Urbanowicz: My flights over the little Chinese town of Changteh in December 1943. The Japanese had drawn an iron ring around the town where a division of
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A REPORT ON POLISH SAPPERS

by WLADYSLAW CHOMA

FOR some reason I had always thought of sappers as soldiers who erect officers' tents, build kitchens or other camp buildings. This always seemed strange to me, as did the fact that after completing their special work, sappers were not exempt from regular army duties. And I must add that sappers always seemed to accomplish more than 10 ordinary soldiers and with less beefing.

Not until the Libyan Campaign did I learn the true worth of these men. The battles for Libya were mainly fights between patrols and there were sappers in every one of these patrols. They had to go ahead to study the terrain and clear the extensive minefields. The work was both exacting and dangerous. The first bungle is always the last in the minefields. Just one undetected mine in the path of the Allied advance meant the death of many soldiers.

During that campaign, we all looked upon the sappers as demi-gods. It seemed to us that they could see better at night, that they walked differently, and by some strange instinct, knew how to avoid suspicious-looking places. They always went first, though they were ill-equipped to fight the enemy, always heading every patrol column.

Many sappers died in Libya. In one Polish battalion they made up 25% of the unit's total losses.

After North Africa was won, Polish sappers were sent to Iraq for further schooling and for a rest after the arduous campaign.

Finally the Poles were sent to Italy. Mines were such an important part of German defenses there that no unit could advance without sappers to clear the way. The minefields near the Sangro River were the worst and caused us the greatest number of casualties.

The entire Libyan Campaign seemed to us a push-over when compared with the intensity and violence of the battles for Cassino. All possible approaches to the German lines were so thoroughly mined that our losses grew to a terrific total. The slightest maneuver in the minefields provoked great fire from German heavy artillery. The sappers who had to clear minefields under enemy fire were in a tough spot indeed.

The Polish Second Corps' assignment was to take Monte Cassino and the adjoining mountains, but before this was possible much preparation was necessary, most of it falling



Polish sappers mine a bridge in northern Italy.

upon our sappers. They built many observation points and machine gun nests, working at night when the enemy could not see them. They constructed miles of roads and paths there, and even named some: "Village path," "Cavendish Road," "Polish Sappers' Road." Some had to be cut through mountain terrain by the Poles while all the existing roads had to be reconstructed and kept in good repair.

Shells continually ripped holes and craters in the roads that the sappers had to fill immediately under heavy artillery barrages. In that mountainous terrain roads were the vital links by which supplies rolled up to the front and the wounded were taken to the rear. If even a single lane of one road was closed off, a traffic jam was inevitable. Sapper patrols were on duty 24 hours a day to be ready in case of an emergency.

But strategic Cassino was not the only bad spot for Polish sappers. Anyone who has ever seen "The Gullet" and the Al-

baneta Massif or the plateau between them knows that the terrain gave German guns on the surrounding peaks a clear view of the attacking Poles. The entire battlefield was completely mined. Under these conditions and during bloody battles, Polish sappers had to clear the area from mines all the way to Albaneta so that tanks could move up for the attack. German artillery and mortars sent a deadly hail down on them from "Phantom Ridge" and from the mountain called "The Snake's Head." Between the German guns and the deadly mines and traps they had to destroy, the Polish sappers suffered extraordinarily heavy losses.

On the night of May 11, 1944, a Second Corps' company of sappers was dismantling some mines found along "Cavendish Road" working in the direction of Albaneta. Phantom Ridge was then still in German hands. At times that night the sappers had to work in bare open stretches of the road where Polish tanks could not come up to protect them or fire back at the German gun posts. Since the road had to be cleared in a hurry the sappers worked on through the night. Whenever one fell there was always another to take his place. The number killed during that one night can be seen by the number of sappers' graves in the little hillside cemetery near Cassino.

During the second and decisive phase of the battles for Monte Cassino on May 17 and 18, 1944, Polish tanks finally forced the Gullet and reached the Albaneta Massif, thus helping stabilize the Kresowa Division's positions in the fight for San Angelo.

Near the Albaneta Massif the Poles found some wrecked American tanks from one of the Allies' previous attacks. One of them had painted on its side the inscription, "Do or Die." It was surrounded by the dead bodies of its crew.

Paving the way across the Albaneta Massif was only part of the sappers' work in the victorious drive on Monte Cassino.



Polish sappers build a bridge across an Italian stream.

They were also in attacking companies that stormed the slopes. Part of each such company was made up of sappers detailed to destroy mines while the remainder wiped out enemy gun emplacements and strong points. They carried many explosives, making of themselves "walking mines" that blew up whenever hit. Sappers also were assigned to flamethrowers, dangerous work for which many paid with their lives.

The wounds they got at Cassino had scarcely had time to heal when Polish units were once again in battle along the Adriatic, fighting for the vital port of Ancona.

During their retreat from Pesaro in June, 1944, the Germans did everything they could to hinder the swiftly pursuing Poles. They destroyed nearly all the bridges, and in many places blew up long stretches of roads and highways. They managed to plant an unusually large number of mines in the battlefield areas. The Germans did not overlook a single river ford or mountain pass. One look at the map of Northern Italy will show the great number of rivers and streams in the vicinity of Ancona and Pesaro that the Poles had to cross.

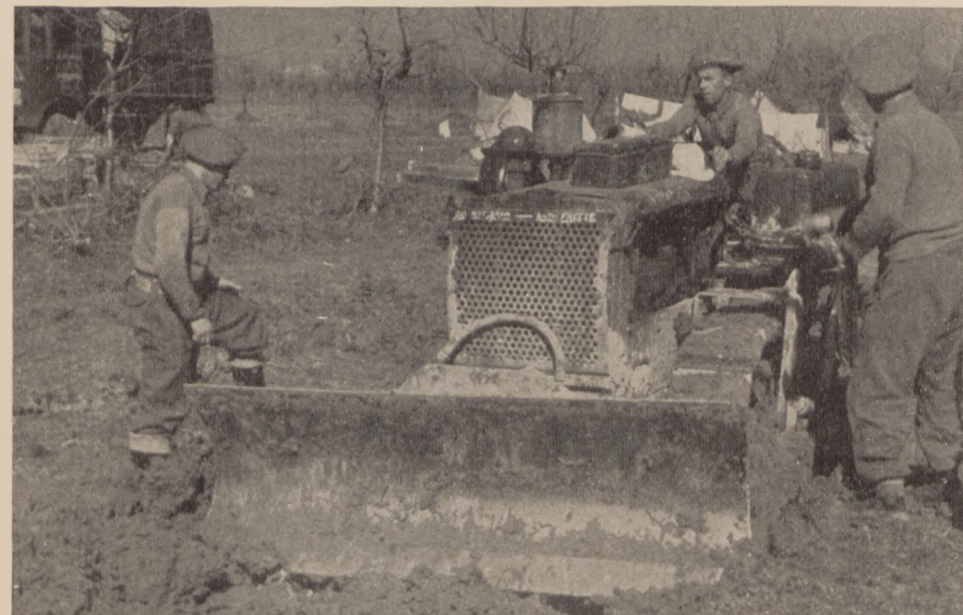
Ingenuity as well as daring has marked the deeds of the Polish sapper in this war. One of them, Lieutenant Jozef Kos, invented the famous mine detector. The device which resembles a carpet sweeper consists of a six foot long pole to which is attached the flat oval-shaped sweeper. The sweeper was created out of meat bones, wood, scrap metal and discarded radio parts. Not until this electric detector was invented could the Allies make their rapid advance through the Libyan minefields to victory in North Africa.

Besides this detector, sappers use long thin wire feelers with which they probe the earth for deeply buried mines. The actual digging up of a mine, however, is usually done by hand, for nothing can beat human fingers for sensitivity of

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Sappers of the Polish Second Corps in Italy repair a road after the enemy's retreat.



Bulldozer levels the ground preparatory to setting up an ack-ack gun.

MAY THIRD

*Third of May—Third of May!
Hand out the Polish Flag today,
As loyal Poles have grimly done
Since A. D. 1791,
The day they fashioned all alone
A constitution of their own,
The day they threatened to be free
—which wasn't quite the thing to be—
To give a voice to common men
And that was not the fashion then.
Great Catherine—excuse a grin—
Described the Poles as Jacobin,
And bully states on either hand
Destroyed the laws and stole the land.
The Third of May! The Third of May!
And still the Poles may not be gay.
They fought the Prince of Bullies first
But Fate so far rewards them worst.
Four times dismembered—never done,
Four times divided—always one,
Ungentle giants all about
No kindly sea to keep them out.
But still whatever tyrant reign,
The Poles resist, 'rebel, remain.
They lose their cities, not their souls,
The proud, unconquerable Poles!*

*And may the nations have the nerve
To bless the braves as they deserve.*

—A. P. HERBERT.

FROM THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN TO CHINA

(Continued from page 11)

Chinese infantry was located. Ammunition and food had to be dropped to the town from the air. Naturally the flights over Changteh had to be made at a height of only several yards above the rooftops. Furthermore each flight had to be made across Japanese lines and our planes always returned shot through like sieves. Our task was further made difficult by the clouds of smoke hanging low over the burning city. There was constant danger that our planes would collide in the smoke. There was no chance of a forced landing, for the bombed city lay burning beneath us. Dante's picture of hell was nothing compared to that hell on earth. And through it all, Chinese heroes without food, water and ammunition managed to hold off the Japanese, finally driving them back.

Mr. Milo: Thank you very much, Colonel Urbanowicz, for what you have told us. I am sure that I express the sentiments of our listeners when I wish you, as a representative of our heroic Allied airmen, the best of luck in your future efforts.

A REPORT ON POLISH SAPPERS

(Continued from page 13)

touch. Once the position of a mine is determined, it must be lifted out carefully and its charge destroyed. It is at this step of the operations that so many sappers lose their lives, killed by prematurely exploded bombs.

THE NINTH LIBERATES POLISH P/W'S IN GERMANY

(Continued from page 10)

the moment, some three months ago, when these parcels suddenly stopped coming, hunger reigned supreme in our camp. Prisoners fainted from hunger. Our diet consisted of a little bread and a bowl of watery turnip soup daily. Officers were given turnips, potatoes, dandelions and other greens.

"Our hunger was not due to any shortage, but to the meanness and baseness of the German authorities, for when the Americans occupied Dossel, they found food supplies in camp stores that would have sufficed us for an entire year. The fact that Generals Czuma, Mond and Piskor each lost from 20 to 40 pounds during their imprisonment is the best proof of the kind of diet we had."

None of the officers suffered any of the torture inflicted on prisoners by the Germans. The Germans had special methods of evading international law by moving the victims away from the Oflag under the most varied pretexts. The most popular method was to accuse the prisoner of having attempted to escape.

When, in September, 1943, after a mass escape, 43 prisoners disappeared from the camp, the Gestapo took away not only those officers mixed up with the break, but also a number of men who had nothing whatever to do with it, but were merely on their black list.

Nothing further was heard of those officers, but their families received official notices that they had been "shot trying to escape!" The Germans systematically harried and bullied the prisoners. Although they were allowed to wear their battle decorations, all badges and national colors were removed and destroyed in the barracks.

The weak and hungry prisoners had to attend several roll calls a day. The Geneva Convention was violated when the imprisoned generals were forced, under threat of arrest, to salute all German officers. But the Germans were extremely sensitive when reproached for breaking international law.

General Wiktor Thomme, Commander of the Lodz Army and defender of Modlin, was put into a penal camp at Koldis because he told camp authorities that the conditions of surrender of the Modlin fortress had been broken by the Germans. General Thomme, who was wounded at Modlin, near Warsaw, and then during an accidental bombing of the camp in Germany, looked better than any of the other generals.

In spite of technical difficulties, the lack of writing materials and text books, the prisoners of Oflag 6B had organized study courses, and teaching was done by fellow prisoners, some of whom were university professors. There were book-keeping courses, lectures about contemporary Poland, foreign trade and training courses for teachers. Jan Wasilkowski, Professor of Civil Law at the University of Warsaw, lectured on that subject. Students matriculated and even took intermediary law examinations. There were also language courses, the most popular being English. The Oflag also had a library provided by the YMCA of about 3,000 books and the prisoners had their own band composed of 60 instruments. Concerts were organized, and one of the soloists, Captain Blaszcze, was a former cellist of the Warsaw radio station. The mortality rate among officers at the Oflag was small, but their liberation came just in time to prevent great suffering and death from lack of food.

SMALL NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

(Continued from page 6)

through the strength of propaganda. Yet they will represent only a part of the world's population, while the remaining part consisting of small nations will not be given the chance of constituting collectively a power equal to that of the "big three (or four)". Yet, if democracy among nations is to be achieved, these small nations or states should possess the same rights of an independent existence and the same rights of full participation in the organization of peace and welfare of the entire world. Should a true democracy of intercourse among nations prevail, the "big powers" would have to subject themselves to control by a judicial body, uninfluenced by any politics of the "big," but devoted exclusively to "doing

justice." They should consent to, and obey, orders and decisions issued by an international judicial body. This undoubtedly means a great sacrifice on the part of these nations but, as stated above, it is a duty of powers "bound for greatness."

The smaller nations being peace-loving and peace-abiding, both by nature and as a result of their respective geographic situations, would constitute a great and important asset to an international organization for maintaining peace. Such an asset should be fully utilized to the advantage of all concerned by ensuring their greater influence in all decisions made by the Security Council or judicial body of the international community of nations.

RECENT PAINTINGS BY POLISH-AMERICAN PULITZER PRIZE WINNER

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painting is to attempt to capture on canvas some of the beauty around us. He feels that with all the trouble in the world today, people need the relaxation that beautiful scenes can bring. That is why he seldom chooses misery or ugliness, preferring such carefree, rustic themes as "Under the Willows," "Covered Bridge," "Skaters," "Harvest," "Pennsylvania Hills," "The Bull," "Country Road."

Of his latest one-man invitation exhibition at the Contemporary Arts Gallery, Howard Devree wrote in the *New York Times*: "Understatement is characteristic of the lyrical, sensitive, persuasive landscapes by Sigmund Kozlow in one of the most attractive shows of the week, at Contemporary Arts. Color is used only for accenting and always with quiet understanding, and in "Amos' Place" there is virtual dependence on gradations of green. "In the Valley" is beautifully composed, and a large and beautiful flower-piece lends variety to the show."

The *Art Digest*, commenting on this same exhibition,

stated that the pictures are softly brushed with a quiet affection for the Bucks County scenes depicted, and that they are characterized by warmth, understanding and solidity. The review concluded, "Outstanding rural works are "Amos' Place," a crisper, more detailed bit of outdoor genre; "The Bull," with its beautifully painted greens and the lovely "Skaters." Also not to be missed is the panoramic "In the Valley," which, like some Chinese landscapes, has the ability to pull the observer into the picture and take him on a long walk through the roads of the canvas. Our favorite picture, however, remains "Along the Canal" which is Renoirish in its sensuous use of rich warm color and texture."

Recalling with gratitude the start in painting which he received at the Boys Club, Mr. Kozlow has given art lessons to other youngsters at the Boys Club and the Children's Aid Society. His aim is to provide some fun for the children, not to force them to become artists, but when he comes across a gifted child, he tries to encourage him. He has had many satisfying moments in pursuing his hobby, which after all is a branch of his first love, painting.

THIRD OF MAY CONSTITUTION AS SEEN BY CONTEMPORARY AMERICANS

(Continued from page 5)

they know to proceed as they have begun! Happy Prince worthy to begin with splendor, or to close with glory, a race of patriot Kings; and to leave,

A name, which every wind to heav'n would bear,

Which men to tell, and Angels joy to hear."

The American press continued to comment on the Polish Constitution long after it was adopted. The *Newport Mercury* of September 3, 1791 noted: "Two leading principles in the new constitution of Poland are, that a man shall not be imprisoned for debt, unless he has committed a fraud; And the other full liberty of the press.—Without these essentials it is impossible any constitution can be free."

In its "Retrospect of Events in 1791" made public on January 4, 1792 the *Columbian Centinel* stated that "the year just expired has been pregnant with great and interesting events. In Poland, with propriety we may say, that a Nation of Freemen has, in the preceding year, been born in a day."

And as late as May 26, 1792, more than a year after the bloodless Polish revolution, the *Columbian Centinel* wrote: "Poland—happy in a Patriot King—enjoys that tranquillity, happiness and prosperity—the attendants of wise laws and a free constitution."

American newspapers were not alone in hailing the Polish revolution. Many prominent figures in American public life manifested their sentiments in one way or another. In the spirit of the times, poetry seems to have been one of the most popular means of registering approval. In his "Fall of Poland in Contemporary American Opinion" (Polish Roman Catholic Union, Chicago, 1935), Miecislau Haiman cites several poems by Americans dedicated to the Constitution of 1791.

One of the most interesting is that by David Humphreys, Revolutionary War soldier, poet, and statesman, contained in a letter written to General Tadeusz Kosciuszko on October 1, 1791, while he was American Minister to Portugal:

"To thee, thou Sage of higher nobler sort,
Than e'er before adorned an earthly Court,
Parent of Millions! Paragon of Kings!
A Bard from new-found Worlds new laurels brings,
To thee, great Stanislaus!—Thy glorious name
Shall stand unrivalled on the rolls of fame—
Hail patriot King! And hail the Heav'n-born plan
Thy voice pronounc'd to fix the rights of man;
The godlike voice, that op'd the feudal graves,
Call'd to new life innumerable Slaves,
Nor call'd to life alone . . . Inspir'd by thee
Thy gen'rous Nobles made those Vassals free—
Hail blest example! happy Poland hail!
No more . . . to lure thy foes . . . shall feuds prevail;
No more shall bord'ring Pow'rs, with lawless arms,
Divide thy confines and despoil thy farms;
No more shall Slav'ry sterilize thy soil,
But fruits, that prompt, shall pay the Peasant's toil;
While soothing Faction's rage, fair Concord reigns,
And crowns with bliss the plenty of the plains;
While, Age succeeding Age, a patriot King!
Both Worlds admire and all the Muses sing."

In the same letter, David Humphreys, who was also a friend of George Washington's, having been his aide-de-camp, quoted from a private letter written by the American President: "Poland, by the public Papers, appears to have made large and unexpected strides towards Liberty."

"JUSTICE FOR THE POLISH NATION"

Excerpts from a speech by the Most Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., Military Delegate at the Pontifical Mass for Poland and her people in St. Patrick's Cathedral, April 17, 1945. The Mass was celebrated by the Most Rev. J. Francis A. McIntyre, V.G., Auxiliary Bishop of New York. Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York presided.

"It is an ideal of justice that has brought us together this morning. Six years ago a spark set off a conflagration that has enveloped the whole world. The spark was the unjust invasion of Poland by a strong enemy, which was followed very shortly by another strong enemy. Violent winds of hatred spread the flames of destruction; nation after nation was drawn into the holocaust, and only now do we see a sign of exhaustion in the dying embers. Humanity lies stricken.

"Justice is a virtue which inclines us to give to every man his due, to give to every man that which by right belongs to him.

"Man has a fundamental right (and a corresponding duty) to worship God. He has a fundamental right to care for his life and health, to marry and raise and educate a family, to live as a member of an intelligent and free society, and in justice there can be no restriction placed upon these rights, provided a man respects the similar rights of others.

"It is a sin of injustice to invade the rights of one's neighbor, and to prevent his free exercise of these rights, except in punishment for crime and after due process of law. It is a sin of injustice to take what belongs to another, whether it be his life or his health or his goods, and a sin of injustice stands in accusation against the sinner until full restitution and reparation is made, or the injustice is forgiven by the person injured.

"As with individual persons, so with nations, for a nation is a juridical person, endowed with such rights of the individual as can be assumed by the collectivity for the individuals who compose the state.

"We have come together to plead the cause of justice before God and before men. Before God we kneel to implore mercy and forgiveness for our sins and iniquities, and to ask that with clean hearts and clean lips and clean hands we may obtain what we desire; the restoration of Poland as an unfettered Christian nation, worthy of the high historical mission entrusted to her in the Thirteenth Century when she turned back the Tartars, in the Seventeenth Century when she turned back the Turks, and in all the intervening centuries when her defense of Christian democratic principles earned for her the enmity of neighboring autocratic states and brought her for more than a century a complete cessation of national life.

"Martyrdom is a privilege, and it can belong only to those whose faith is strong enough to stand it. Through the Dark Night of Poland, when for 122 years she ceased to exist as a nation, it was the Faith that sustained her and kept alive her spirit. May her sons be ever faithful, and may their lives be rich in every virtue! At the beginning of this year, General Anders, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army in Italy, presented to His Holiness Pope Pius XII, as 'Defender of Justice,' a silver breastplate adorned with the image of Our Lady of Ostra Brama, and engraved with these words: 'Poland ever faithful to God, to the Vicar of Christ, and to the love of the Fatherland.'

"With a contrite and humble heart, then, we place the cause of Poland before God, the Just Judge. And we stand also before the earthly bar of justice to ask the world to judge whether there can be peace without truth and justice. Well did the prophetic words of Archbishop Spellman, written months before, appear in public print just when the decision of Yalta was announced: 'Those who think they are burying Poland are but planting the seeds of another war! What hap-

pens to Poland will be a prophecy and a pattern of what will happen to other valiant but small and helpless nations, and the fate of Poland is a barometer which will prove whether or not the principles of the Atlantic Charter are to take root and bear fruit in our time.'

"If peace is ever to come to the world, it can come only from the application of moral principles and moral power. Physical force may bring an armed aggressor to his knees, but the whole of history cries out against the thesis that power politics can maintain peace. Unless truth and justice are the basis of international relations, the maintenance of force is an open invitation to aggression by a strong power or combination of powers. As the American Bishops said in their wise statement of last November, 'If justice is compromised, if unreasonable concessions are made to might, grievances will rankle in the bosom of aggrieved nations to endanger the peace of the world. If prostrate nations are not assisted in giving to their people fair economic opportunities, they will become the arena of civil strife and turmoil. No international organization will be able to maintain a peace which is unfair and unjust.'

"Who are the defenders of Poland before the international bar of justice? All the right-thinking people, all who know God and serve Him. All right-thinking people, but the primacy in this group belongs to those who have been saved by the spilling of Polish blood. Well did Winston Churchill say: 'In the fateful days of 1940 . . . in no uncertain terms Poland contributed immeasurably to save Great Britain.' Our own lamented President Roosevelt said: 'Poland was the inspiration of nations.' In the present world conflict, no soldiers have fought under more unequal conditions than the Poles fighting on their own soil. And Polish soldiers have joined arms with the Allies in France, in Norway, in Africa, in Italy, in the air battle of Britain and the sea battle of the Atlantic; and sons of Poland have distinguished themselves in our own armed forces all over the world.

"Yes, those who owe Poland a debt of gratitude should be the first to demand justice for her. Last week in Washington, the chosen representatives of the American hierarchy, the Administrative Board of the NCWC, called upon our nation to fulfill the President's pledge that 'in the choice of permanent Polish government the people of Poland be guaranteed in their right of a free secret ballot.' Then it added this solemn warning: 'The peace of the world demands a free, independent, democratic Poland. It must not be that Poland become a puppet state under the domination and control of any foreign power. If Poland is secured in its rights of freedom and independence, it will make great sacrifices and do its full part in the international community. If it is enslaved, and its leadership forced into exile or inhumanly liquidated, the love of freedom will not be crushed in Polish hearts, but the seeds of war will have been sown.'

"Sons of Poland: we are your brothers in your just aspirations for freedom. The desire for fair play is inherent in the American character. Once your cause is known to the American people, there can be but one verdict before the bar of public opinion: justice for your nation, justice for your people. May God bless your honorable intentions and give us light to see and grace to do always His Holy Will."